

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 BIB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 DHA-05 ACDA-07 /072 W  
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R 201458Z SEP 77  
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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN  
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AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USMISSION NATO  
USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4799

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT, PGOV, NL  
SUBJ: DUTCH COMMUNIST PARTY

1. SUMMARY: RECENT REACTION OF DUTCH CPN TO DRASTIC ELECTION  
LOSSES THIS SPRING PROVIDES INTERESTING CONTRAST TO THE FACE  
COMMUNIST PARTIES ARE SHOWING ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE. END SUMMARY

2. THE DUTCH COMMUNIST PARTY (CPN) FOLLOWED AN INDEPENDENT  
COURSE BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING DURING A DECADE WHEN OTHER  
EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES WERE MANEUVERING CLOSER TO ONE OR  
THE OTHER OF THE TWO COMMUNIST CAPITALS. BETWEEN 1964-75 THE  
CPN EVEN DID NOT ATTEND INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCES  
SUDDENLY IN APRIL OF THIS YEAR CPN LEADERS JOURNEYED TO MOSCOW  
AND RETURNED TO HOLLAND WITH THE NEWS THAT THE CPN AND CPSU  
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SAW EYE-TO-EYE ALONG MAJOR POLICY LINES.

3. THE CPN LOST BADLY IN THE MAY NATIONAL ELECTIONS IN HOLLAND,  
FALLING FROM SEVEN PARLIAMENTARY SEATS TO TWO. THE CPN SHARED  
THE FATE OF MOST SMALL PARTIES IN THE NETHERLANDS, MOST OF WHICH  
FELL VICTIM TO THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE THREE LARGE PARTIES:  
THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (CDA), THE LIBERALS (VVD) AND LABOR

(PVDA). THE CPN WAS HURT PARTICULARLY BY THE FACT THAT THE ELECTION WAS IN PART A PERSONALITY CONTEST BETWEEN SOCIALIST PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL (PVDA) AND CDA LEADER VAN AGT. THE CPN FOLLOWED A TACTIC OF ATTACKING VAN AGT, AND AS A RESULT SAW ITS ELECTORAL SUPPORTERS SWITCH IN LARGE NUMBERS TO THE LABOR PARTY AND DEN UYL.

4. AFTER SEVERAL MONTHS OF SILENCE, FORMER PARTY CHAIRMAN PAUL DE GROOT DELIVERED A SCATHING ATTACK ON THE PRESENT PARTY LEADERSHIP. THE ASSULT, DIRECTED AGAINST PRESENT CPN CHAIRMAN HENK HOEKSTRA AND FLOOR LEADER MARCUS BAKKER, LAID DOWN A BARRAGE OF HARD-LINE COMMUNIST TERMINOLOGY REMINISCENT OF AN EARLIER AGE, INCLUDING ACCUSATIONS OF PASSIVITY IN THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND OF COVERT HOSTILITY TO INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM. DE GROOT FURTHER ACCUSED THE PARTY EXECUTIVES OF DESIRING TO BE ACCEPTED BY THE BOURGEOISIE AND OF FAILURE TO TRAIN MILITANT CADRES. HOEKSTRA AND HIS SUPPORTERS, RATHER THAN COUNTER ATTACKING BY DEFENDING THE NEED TO APPEAL TO A BROADER BASE OF SUPPORT, LED THE "OLD GUARD" HAVE ITS SAY. HOEKSTRA EVEN AGREED ON SOME POINTS, PRIMARILY TO RECRUIT YOUNGER AND MORE MILITANT MEMBERS FROM THE WORKING CLASS AND TO FOREGO ATTEMPTS TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR AN ELECTORAL ALLIANCE WITH PARTIES HAVING STRONGER PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION SUCH AS THE PPR AND THE SOCIALISTS. THE HOEKSTRA-RUN CPN NEWSPAPER "DE WAARHEID" HAS, HOWEVER, NOT SOFTENED ITS LANGUAGE IN AN ATTEMPT TO ATTRACT IDEALISTICALLY MOTIVATED POTENTIAL MEMBERS. CONFIDENTIAL

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5. A RECENT MANIFESTATION OF CPN'S ORGANIZATIONAL THRUST HAS BEEN A SHARP COMPLAINT BY THE STRONG DUTCH SOCIALIST TRADE UNION ASSOCIATION NVV THAT THE CPN IS SEEKING TO CAST SUSPICION ON TRADE UNIONS IN AN ATTEMPT TO ACQUIRE A POSITION AMONG INDUSTRIAL WORK FORCE. THE NVV CLAIMS THAT, SINCE LAST MAY'S GENERAL ELECTION LOSSES, THE COMMUNISTS HAD "DRASTICALLY CHANGED COURSE," ASSERTING THAT THE CPN HAS BEEN TOLD BY HOEKSTRA THAT IT MUST NO LONGER BE A "DECENT PARTY BUT AN ACTION PARTY."

6. COMMENT: IN THE WAKE OF DE GROOT'S ATTACK, THE CPN NOW SEEMS TO BE MOVING AGAIN TO AN INWARD-LOOKING, PRO-MOSCOW PARTY LINE. AT THE SAME TIME, AND IN THE FACE OF COMMUNISTS ATTEMPTS AT "RESPECTABILITY" ELSEWHERE IN EUROPE, THE CPN SEEMS TO HAVE REVERTED TO 1950'S IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS AND METHODS OF OPERATION. MCCLOSKEY

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## Message Attributes

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